

## Message Text

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ACTION IO-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ACDA-05 CIAE-00 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00

NSC-05 EB-07 NRC-05 OES-03 FEA-01 AF-06 ARA-06 EA-06

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FM USMISSION IAEA VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5912

INFO AEC GERMANTOWN

C O N F I D E N T I A L IAEA VIENNA 4655

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: IAEA PARM IT SW

SUBJ: IAEA BOARD OF GOVERNORS MEETING JUNE 10:

AGENDA ITEM 7 - DESIGNATION OF MEMBERS FOR  
1975-76

REF: (A) IAEA VIENNA 4465

(B) IAEA VIENNA 4446

SUMMARY: WHILE CONSENSUS OF WE BOARD MEMBERS IS  
DEVELOPING IN ITALY'S FAVOR, MISSION BELIEVES THAT A  
BOARD VOTE CAN BE HEADED OFF ON PROCEDURAL GROUNDS;  
ACTION REQUESTED. INSTRUCTIONS TO MISSION ON THIS AGENDA  
ITEM. END SUMMARY

1. IN INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS DURING PAST WEEK WITH A NUMBER  
OF OTHER MISSION REPS (VENEZUELA, AUSTRILIA,  
THAILAND, JAPAN) MISSION HAS FOUND GENERAL AGREEMENT  
THAT DESIGNATION OF NINE "MOST ADVANCED" STATES SHOULD  
CONTINUE TO BE BY CONSENSUS RATHER THAN BY VOTE FOR  
REASONS SET FORTH REF A, PARA 1. ASSUMING, AS WE DO,  
THAT A LARGE MAJORITY OF BOARD MEMBERSHIP SHARES THIS  
FEELING, WE BELIEVE A SCENARIO FOR THE BOARD CAN BE  
DEvised WHICH WILL FRUSTRATE, ON PROCEDURAL GROUNDS,  
AN ATTEMPT BY SWEDEN (SUPPORTED BY SPAIN) TO PRODUCE A  
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VOTE.

2. SUCCESS OF SCENARIO WOULD DEPEND IN LARGE MEASURE ON THE EXISTENCE OF SOMETHING LIKE A CONSENSUS (AT LEAST A MAJORITY) WITHIN THE WE GROUP ON THE BOARD, ESPECIALLY GIVEN THE RATHER WIDESPREAD RELUCTANCE OF OTHER BOARD MEMBERS TO INTERFERE IN REGIONAL CONTESTS. ACCORDING TO FRENCH RESREP (DEMENTHON), ITALY ALREADY HAS THE SUPPORT OF THE UK, FRG AND FRANCE WHILE SWEDEN IS KNOWN TO HAVE ONLY SPAIN'S SUPPORT. DEMENTHON BELIEVES TURKEY WILL PROBABLY SUPPORT ITALY; SWITZERLAND'S CHOICE REMAINS UNKNOWN, BUT EVEN SHOULD THE SWISS SUPPORT SWEDEN, ITALY WOULD HAVE THE SUPPORT OF THE MAJORITY WHICH FOR OTHER BOARD MEMBERS WOULD SUFFICE AS A REGIONAL CONSENSUS. STRENGTH OF THIS CONSENSUS SHOULD BECOME CLEARER IN COMING WEEK WITH END OF NPT REVCON AND SHIFTING OF FOCUS OF LOCAL REPS FROM REVCON TO JUNE BOARD.

3. WITH A WE REGIONAL CONSENSUS ESTABLISHED, BULGARIAN CHAIRMAN OF BOARD (IVANCHEV) SHOULD BE IN POSITION TO INFORM BOARD, AS IS CUSTOMARY, THAT HIS PRE-BOARD CONSULTATIONS HAVE LED HIM TO UNDERSTAND THAT THE BOARD WISHES TO DESIGNATE THE SAME "DESIGNATED" NINE MEMBERS AS NOW COMPRISE THAT CATEGORY. ASSUMING THAT SWEDISH RESREP CHALLENGES THIS CONSENSUS AND CALLS FOR VOTE, CHAIRMAN WOULD REPLY, IN EFFECT, THAT IN HIS OPINION IT WOULD NOT BE PROPER TO DETERMINE THAT IDENTITIES OF "MOST ADVANCED" STATES BY VOTE; THAT BOARD HAD ALWAYS DISCHARGED ITS DUTIES UNDER ARTICLE VI.A.1 BY CONSENSUS, AND THAT IT WAS HIS UNDERSTANDING THAT GOVERNORS WISHED TO CONTINUE THIS PROCEDURE. AT THAT POINT, WHETHER BY VOTE OR BY LARGE NUMBER OF SUPPORTING STATEMENTS BY GOVERNORS, CHAIRMAN'S VIEWS WOULD, WE BELIEVE, BE UPHELD AND HE WOULD BE ENABLED REITERATE CONSENSUS HE HAD RECEIVED FROM GOVERNORS ON IDENTITY OF NINE "MOST ADVANCED" MEMBERS, AND CLOSE AGENDA ITEM NOTING OBJECTIONS FOR THE RECORD.

4. ROLE OF CHAIRMAN AND HOW HE PLAYS IT IN THIS SCENARIO IS, OF COURSE, EXTREMELY IMPORTANT. CURRENT CHAIRMAN, WHILE WELL-MEANING, IS RELATIVELY INEXPERIENCED AND AT TIMES INEPT. ABLE BOARD SECRETARY (BOLTON) FEELS HE CAN CONFIDENTIAL

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BRIEF IVANCHEV IN ADVANCE; HOWEVER, MISSION DOUBTS IVANCHEV'S ABILITY TO HANDLE AN UNFORESEEN DEVELOPMENT IN SCENARIO. THIS IS UNAVOIDABLE RISK. HOWEVER, IN ORDER THAT IVANCHEV MAY AT LEAST HAVE ENOUGH TIME FOR CONSULTATION WITH RESREPS AND BRIEFING ON SUBJECT FROM AGENCY, AGENCY DIRECTOR OF EXTERNAL RELATIONS (FISCHER), AT MISSION SUGGESTION, HAS PERSUADED DIRECTOR GENERAL TO URGE SOVIET RESREP (ARKADIEV) TO USE HIS INFLUENCE TO PERSUADE

IVANCHEV TO ARRIVE IN VIENNA THE WEEK PRECEDING THE BOARD.

5. BEST POSSIBLE SOLUTION AT THIS STAGE WOULD BE TO PERSUADE SWEDEN--AND SPAIN, WHICH DOES NOT SEEK DESIGNATED SEAT THIS YEAR AT ANY RATE--THAT A CHALLENGE TO ITALY THIS YEAR WILL CLEARLY BE DEFEATED ONE WAY OR ANOTHER. THIS REMAINS A POSSIBILITY. SWEDISH RESREP (AMB. PETRI) HAS ADMITTED TO MISSOFF THAT STOCKHOLM IS NOT BY ANY MEANS MATCHING ROME'S LOBBYING EFFORTS (SOME HERE ARE INDEED WONDERING TO WHAT EXTENT SWEDISH RESREP'S EFFORTS ARE SUPPORTED BY STOCKHOLM). UK MISSOFF (LLOYD) RECENTLY POINTED OUT TO SWEDISH MISSOFF (LILLIEHOOK) THAT SWEDEN WOULD BE WISE NOT RPT NOT TO PUSH FOR A VOTE AT THE BOARD FOR IT WOULD LOSE THAT VOTE AND BE IN A WEAKER POSITION TO PRESS ITS CASE IN 1976. FURTHER EFFORTS TO PERSUADE SWEDEN TO WITHDRAW GRACEFULLY ARE LIKELY IN THE COMING WEEK.

6. REGARDLESS OF OUTCOME AT BOARD, MISSION BELIEVES IT WOULD BE USEFUL FOR BOARD TO APPOINT A GROUP OF "WISE MEN" TO ADVISE IT OF WHAT FACTORS SHOULD BE USED, AND HOW THEY SHOULD BE USED, TO ESTABLISH AT ANY TIME WHICH ARE THE NINE "MOST ADVANCED" MEMBERS OF THE AGENCY IN THE SENSE IN WHICH THAT TERM IS USED IN ARTICLE VI.A.1 OF THE STATUTE. SOME SUCH MECHANISM IS IMPORTANT NOT ONLY TO MEET SWEDISH AND SPANISH ARGUMENTS THIS YEAR BUT IN LONG RUN IN ORDER FOR BOARD TO ADJUST ITS DECISIONS TO ALTERED CIRCUMSTANCES. WE PLAN DISCUSS THIS CONCEPT WITH OTHER MISSIONS HERE.

7. ACTION REQUESTED. INSTRUCTIONS AUTHORIZING MISSION TO SUPPORT CHAIRMAN'S POSITION THAT DESIGNATION BE BY CONSENSUS RATHER THAN BY VOTE. LABOWITZ  
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